

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 SAM-01 NIC-01 SAJ-01 CIAE-00

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RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 /068 W

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R 061754Z DEC 74

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 613

INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION GENEVA

USEC BRUSSELS 956

C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 7682

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, ELAB, SP

SUBJ: SPANISH DEMOCRATIC JUNTA AND DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE

REF: A) MADRID 6644 B) MADRID 7561 C) MADRID 7501

BEGIN SUMMARY: ACCORDING RELIABLE SOURCE DEMOCRATIC JUNTA IS DEVOTING ITSELF TO ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY, WITH SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY (PCE) PARTICULARLY ACTIVE IN CONTACTS WITH OTHER OPPOSITION GROUPS WHICH IT WOULD LIKE TO BRING INTO JUNTA. JUNTA'S COMPOSITION STILL MUCH AS IT WAS IN JULY, HOWEVER. EFFORTS REPS CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC AND SOCIALIST GROUPS OUTSIDE JUNTA TO FORM RIVAL DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE MAY HAVE BEEN GIVEN A BOOST WHEN THEY WERE ARRESTED WHILE HOLDING FIRST ORGANIZATIONAL MEETING NOV 26. SITUATION REMAINS FLUID. KEY FACTOR IS ATTITUDE PSOE SOCIALISTS, WHO MIGHT DECIDE AGAINST BOTH BROUPINGS. IT IS ALSO POSSIBLE THAT GROUPS IN BOTH JUNTA AND CONFERENCE MIGHT EVENTUALLY JOIN TOGETHER IN ONE BIG COALITION. END SUMMARY

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1. DEMOCRATIC JUNTA FORMED IN JULY IN PARIS BY PCE SECRETARY GENERAL SANTIAGO CARRILLI IN COMBINATION WITH VARIOUS OPPOSITION GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS INCLUDING RAFAEL CALVO SERER (ONE TIME ADVISER TO DON JUAN AND OPUS DEI MEMBER), CONTINUES TO DEVOTE ITSELF TO ORGANIZATIONAL EFFORTS. PRINCIPAL OPPOSITION GROUPS CURRENTLY IN JUNTA ARE: (A) PCE, (B) TIerno GALVAN SOCIALISTS (POPULAR SOCIALIST PARTY), (C) CARLISTS, AND ASA ANDALUCIAN SOCIALIST GROUP OF ALEJANDRO ROJAS MARCOS. ADDITIONALLY, JUNTA CONTAINS PROMINENT INDIVIDUALS SUCH AS CALVO SERER AND MADRID LAWYER ANTONIO GARCIA TREVIJANO, WHO CLAIMS TO BE JUNTA'S SECRETARY; CAPTALAN FINANCIER ANDREU ABELLO, CANARY ISLAND LAWYER (FNU) DIEZ AGUILAR, AND GALICIAN LAWYER (FNU) PAZ DE ANDRADE. PCE-DOMINATED WORKERS COMMISSIONS ALSO HAVE REPS ON JUNTA, BUT CLAIM THEIR PRESENCE IS IN INDIVIDUAL CAPACITY AND THAT WORKERS COMMISSIONS NOT PARTICIPATING AS ORGANIZATION. JUNTA ALSO CLAIMS VARIOUS MEMBERS EVEN REPRESENT SPANISH INDUSTRIALISTS AND FINANCIERS (E.G., HUARTE FAMILY FROM PAMPLONA IS RUMORED TO BE INVOLVED).

2. JUNTA HAS, HOWEVER, RECENTLY REPORTEDLY ENCOUNTERED SOME PROBLEMS. THESE INCLUDE (A) CARLIST PARTY MAY BE ON VERGE OF PULLING OUT OF JUNTA; (B) JUNTA IS NEGOTIATING ENTRY OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST PARTY (PCI) (DISSIDENT COMMUNISTS WHO BROKE AWAY FROM PCE YEARS AGO AND FORM ONE OF MOST REVOLUTIONARY OF OPPOSITION POLITICAL GROUPS, BUT ARE CURRENTLY IN PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION WITH PCE) INTO JUNTA, WHICH IS PROVOKING NEGATIVE REACTIONS AMONG MORE BOURGEOIS JUNTA ELEMENTS; AND (C) JUNTA HAS FAILED IN ITS EFFORTS TO ENROLL SOME OF EXISTING REGIONAL OPPOSITION ALLIANCES, SUCH AS ASSEMBLY OF CATALUNA, TO ITS CAUSE.

3. MUCH OF CURRENT EFFORT OF JUNTA IS CENTERED ON FORMATION OF CONSTITUENT DEMOCRATIC JUNTAS AT LOCAL LEVELS. FOR THIS PURPOSE JUNTA HAS HAD SOME SUCCESS IN CONVERTING PRE-EXISTING "MESAS DEMOCRATICAS", WHICH HAVE EXISTED IN MOST SPANISH CITIES FOR PAST NFEW YEARS WITH PARTICIPATION MOST OPPOSITION GROUPS, INTO LOCAL CHAPTERS OF JUNTA. THIS TACTIC HAS REPORTEDLY CAUSED CERTAIN OF NON-JUNTA COMPONENTS TO WALK OUT OF LOCAL MESAS.

4. AT SAME TIME, GROUPS WITHIN JUNTA, PARTICULARLY COMMUNIST
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COMPONENT, HAVE BEEN MAKING CONTINUED AND REPEATED SOUNDINGS AND OFFERS TO MODERATE OPPOSITION GROUPS OUTSIDE OF JUNTA (E.E., LARGELY CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC AND SOCIALIST) TO JOIN, ALTHOUGH WITHOUT ANY SPECIFIC SUCCESS TO DATE. JOAQUIN RUIZ GIMENEZ, WHO WAS IN PARIS TWO WEEKS AGO FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC GATHERING, MAY POSSIBLY HAVE SEEN PCE'S LEADER SANTIAGO CARRILLO. RUIZ GIMENEZ HAS REPORTEDLY BEEN ARGUING THE NEED TO THE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION TO ENLIST SUPPORT

OF PCE.

5. SEPARATE EFFORTS TO FORM "DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE" COALITION, MADE UP CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND SOCIALIST GROUPS OUTSIDE OF JUNTA, HAVE BEEN SO FAR UNSUCCESSFUL, BUT MAY HAVE BEEN GIVEN AN UNEXPECTED BOOST WHEN 14 LEADERS OF THESE GROUPS WERE ARRESTED ON NOV 26 WHILE THEY WERE HOLDING AN ORGANIZATIONAL MEETING TO DISCUSS ALTERNATIVES OF EITHER FORMING SUCH A NON-JUNTA GROUPING, OR OF JOINING JUNTA, OR OF AT LEAST DECIDING UPON A JOINT POLICY VIS-A-VIS JUNTA (REF B).

6. KEY TO WHETHER DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE WILL EVEN GET OFF GROUND, HOWEVER, WILL BE WHETHER PSOE, WHICH IS MAIN SPANISH SOCIALIST PARTY AND ONLY ONE RECOGNIZED BY SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL, DECIDES TO PARTICIPATE IT. ALTHOUGH PSOE IS ALSO BEING ARDENTLY WOOED BY JUNTA, TWO OF ITS PRINCIPAL LEADERS WERE AMONG THOSE ARRESTED AT NOV 26 MEETING INDICATING, AT MINIMUM, THAT PSOE INTERESTED IN EXPLORING JOINT ACTION WITH EITHER POLITICAL FORMATION. SHOULD PSOE JOIN A FORMALLY ESTABLISHED DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE, LATTER WOULD THEN CONSTITUTE FORMIDABLE COUNTERGROUP TO JUNTA. WERE PSOE TO JOIN JUNTA, MOST OF OTHER MODERATE GROUPS WOULD BE UNDER PRESSURE TO FOLLOW SUIT. CURRENT INDICATIONS, HOWEVER, ARE THAT PSOE MAY MAINTAIN ITSELF INDEPENDENT OF BOTH JUNTA AND DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE DUE TO STRONG PSOE INTERNAL DISSENTION OVER ISSUE.

7. COMMENT: SITUATION THUS REMAINS FLUID, WITH FIVE POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES: (A) JUNTA CONTINUING WITH CONFERENCE ESTABLISHING ITSELF AS RIVAL ORGANIZATION; (B) CONFERENCE'S COMPONENTS ABANDONING THEIR EFFORTS WITH SOME OR MOST OF THEM JOINING JUNTA (THERE ARE FEW STRONGLY ANTI-COMMUNIST GROUPS, SUCH AS DSC AND USDE, WHO WOULD PROBABLY NOT JOIN JUNTA UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES); (C) FAILURE OF JUNTA'S ORGANIZATIONAL EFFORTS
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WITH ITS LEADING COMPONENTS, INCLUDING PCE, JOINING CONFERENCE; (D) BOTH GROUPS MERGING INTO ONE BROAD OPPOSITION COALITION; OR (E) BOTH COALITIOSN EVENTUALLY DISSOLVING AMID FRAGMENTATION AND FACTIONALISM TRADITIONALLY PREVALENT AMONG ALL SPANISH POLITICAL GROUPS.

8. THERE IS SUBSTANTIAL SENTIMENT IN FAVOR OF FORMING ONE BROAD COALITION WITH ALL OPPOSITION GROUPS, INCLUDING PCE, AND THIS IS A LINE ALLEGEDLY NOW BEING PUSHED BY PRESTIGIOUS CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT RUIZ GIMENEZ. HOWEVER, THERE ARE TOO MANY IMPONDERABLES AT PRESENT, (E.G., ATTITUDE OF PSOE SOCIALISTS, TO BE ABLE TO PREDICT END RESULT. PCE AND SANTIAGO CARRILLI HAVE ALREADY SHOWED THEIR POLITICAL POTENTIAL BY ACTING AS CATALYST FOR POLITICAL MANEUVERING IN OPPOSITION GROUPS AND THEIR TACTICAL SKILL IN PROMOTING IMAGE OF MODERATE

AND RESPECTABLE POLITICAL PARTY SUPPOSEDLY WILLING TO PARTICIPATE
DEMOCRATICALLY WITH OTHER GROUPS IN POST-FRANCO ERA.
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